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PROCEEDINGS

OF AN

UNION MEETING,

HELD IN NEW YORK.

AN

APPEAL TO THE SOUTH.

NEW-YORK:

JOHN H. DUYCKINCK, STATIONER AND PRINTER,
164 PEARL STREET.

1860.

May 10th 1860 to be forwarded
in Particular to 3520

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AN APPEAL TO THE SOUTH.

A meeting of many of the prominent gentlemen of this city, merchants and others, was held at the office of a gentleman in Pine street, yesterday, for the purpose of consultation and counsel with a view to the adoption of such measures as would tend to restore peace and harmony to our distracted country. The meeting was held in a large room of the new building, 32 Pine street, opposite the office of MR. LATHERS, where it was originally designed to take place. The apartment was crowded to its utmost capacity, and yet the meeting was exceedingly select and comparatively private in its character, no person being admitted except the gentlemen to whom the following note of invitation had been addressed :

NEW YORK, December 10, 1860.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned, deeming it the duty of all patriotic citizens, in a crisis like the present, to do what they can to provide a way of escape from the calamities which threaten us—not to say are already upon us—respectfully request you to meet a number of other gentlemen, to whom this circular will be sent, at the office of RICHARD LATHERS, 33 Pine street, on Saturday, the 15th inst., at 12 o'clock, for consultation and mutual counsel, with a view to the adoption of such measures, if any can be devised, as will tend to heal the present dissensions, and restore our once happy country to peaceful and harmonious relations.

The answer to the enclosed letters will be read to the meeting.

Very respectfully,

WATTS SHERMAN,	WILLIAM B. ASTOR,
WASHINGTON HUNT, of Lockport,	JOHN A. DIX,
ERASTUS BROOKS,	C. COMSTOCK, of Albany,
JAMES T. BRADY,	AUGUSTUS SCHELL,
GUSTAVUS W. SMITH,	STEWART BROWN,
EDWIN CROSWELL,	GERARD HALLOCK,
WILSON G. HUNT,	GEO. E. BALDWIN,
JAMES T. SOUTTER,	JAMES W. BEEKMAN,

RICHARD LATHERS.

In pursuance of the above invitation, some two hundred of the leading men of the City and State assembled at the place designated, soon after 12 o'clock, on Saturday, 15th inst.

A large number of those who had been invited were present, while from others, whose engagements precluded their attendance, letters explaining the cause of their absence were received and read to the meeting. The following is a list of the gentlemen to whom invitations were sent, many of whom were present, and their names will accurately reflect the character of the assemblage :

John G. Cisco,	John Kelley,	Thomas Slocom,
Gouverneur Kemble,	George W. Clinton,	R. G. Horton,
Aaron Ward,	William B. Clerke,	James F. Cox,
Thomas Tileston,	Isaac Bell,	J. R. Bulkley,
James Brooks,	Thomas E. Davis,	William C. Pickersgill,
Royal Phelps,	Stephen Johnson,	Samuel D. Babcock,
A. A. Low,	John A. Stewart,	James M. Brown,
Samuel G. Courtney,	Com. W. P. Levy,	H. F. Spaulding,
Stewart Brown,	James E. Shaw,	R. Caldwell,
Robert B. Minturn,	Eugene Kelly,	John Potts Brown,
Henry Grinnell,	Robert O. Glover,	J. Boorn'n Johnston,
Charles O'Conor,	Benjamin Nott,	George G. Sampson,
James T. Brady,	James Avisell,	Samuel B. Caldwell,
Millard Fillmore,	Thomas Bacon,	George W. Bee,
Washington Hunt,	Edward Dodge,	Frederick Hudson,
William Kelly,	A. B. Getty,	John Allen,
William B. Astor,	John B. Higgins,	George W. Hennings,
Gerard Hallock,	J. A. Greene, Jr.,	Rev. T. H. Taylor,
Charles Comstock,	A. C. Paige,	Rev. F. L. Hawkes,
Erastus Corning,	Judge Allen,	Prof. Mitchell,
Gustavus W. Smith,	James C. Spence,	Edward H. Gillilan,
Horatio Seymour,	A. B. Conger,	J. Leaycraft,
George E. Baldwin,	George Bartlett,	H. O. Brewer,
P. W. Engs,	H. S. Rundal,	Andrew Mount,
Daniel S. Dickinson,	Carlos Cobb,	Moses Taylor,
William Duncan,	Israel T. Hatch,	Mansfield Lovell,
Watts Sherman,	N. E. Paine,	Richard Schell,
Joshua J. Henry,	Wooster Sherman,	Benj. R. Winthrop,
Elias S. Higgins,	John D. Pierson,	J. W. Chanler,
Algernon S. Jarvis,	William F. Russell,	James Maurice, Jr.,
Vine Wright Kingsley,	Horace Day,	Charles Roome,
O. G. Carter,	E. J. Brown,	Lucius Hopkins,
John M. Barbour,	William Duer,	A. P. Pillot,
E. B. Hart,	Solomon G. Haven,	S. M. L. Barlow,

William Miner,	O. B. Wheeler,	S. F. Butterworth,
James D. Morgan,	Lorenzo Burrows,	R. W. Howe,
Edwin Croswell,	R. H. Walworth,	W. D. Parsons,
Augustus Schell,	D. D. Aikin,	Jehial Read,
Wilson G. Hunt,	D. B. St. John,	Edward Haight,
Erastus Brooks,	T. B. Satterthwaite,	J. S. Thayer,
General Viekie,	F. S. Lathrop,	W. F. Havemeyer,
John A. Parker,	J. D. Jones,	William Redmond,
S. J. Tilden,	Lt. Gen. Winfield Scott,	Henry Hopkins,
Greene C. Bronson,	George B. Dorr,	Lyman Tremain,
G. B. Lamar,	Elwood Walter,	D. D. Barnard,
James T. Souther,	C. F. Lindsley,	Rufus W. Peckham,
Benjamin Loder,	James E. Shaw,	Gen. P. Gansevoort,
Gulian C. Verplanck,	C. S. Johnson,	August Belmont,
P. B. Sweeney,	Sydney E. Morse,	William McMurray,
E. F. Purdy,	Townsend Cox,	J. J. Roosevelt,
S. P. Russel,	John Van Buren,	Le Grand Capers,
James Munroe,	Amasa J. Parker,	Emerson Coleman,
John A. Dix,	Douglas Robins	Gould Hoyt,
James W. Beckman,	n.	Robert Souter,
C. Augustus Davis,	Daniel F. Tiemann,	Ed. of N. Y. Observer,
J. H. Brower,	Abm. S. Hewitt,	Daniel W. Teller,
Reuben Withers,	Edward Cooper,	James Punnett,
Aaron Vanderpoel,	D. Devlin,	A. T. Stewart,
Martin Van Buren,	John C. Hamilton,	William T. Coleman,
T. W. Clerke,	James Gordon Bennett,	Hiram Ketchum.
Wm. D. Kennedy,	U. P. Levy, U. S. N	Frederick Schuchardt,
Jonathan Trotter,	Asahel S. Levy,	James Wadsworth,
Charles Yates,	Edwards Pierrepont,	J. W. White,
Henry Meyer,	Charles A. Secor,	U. S. Consul at Lyons,
John H. Lyell,	John H. Earle,	E. P. Norton.
James M. Hayward,	Frederick Gebhard,	Wm. C. Wetmore.

Col. RICHARD LATHERS called the meeting to order, and in doing so, spoke as follows :

GENTLEMEN : By the request of the Committee of Invitation, I rise to call this meeting to order. I need hardly say to you how much gratified we are to see so many of the venerable and distinguished statesmen, the enterprising merchants and the substantial citizens of our beloved State convened on this occasion. You are called together as national men, irrespective of party, to consider a subject of painful interest—the threatened dissolution of our glorious confederacy—to contemplate that fatal period in our country's history against which the prophetic pen of the father of our country so earnestly warned us in his farewell address. Our Union has fallen a prey to sectionalism, and the terrors of civil war

and of fraternal strife threaten to deluge the land with blood, and to erase from the calendar of nations the land of our pride and affections—the land of hope and of refuge, and the land possessing the highest civilization, the greatest commercial development and national power which have ever blessed the prospects of constitutional liberty. The stern realities before us require no exaggeration to bring the danger home to us. There are, it is true, those whose recklessness or ignorance deride the efforts of patriotism as “Union saving,” and the poisoned chalice of sectionalism seems to be pressed with fatal effect in proportion as the fraternal hand allays and soothes the malady. Would to God that these sectional agitators could alone suffer the penalty of their own aggressions on the rights of the South, and that those who love our country’s institutions and fulfill their reciprocal duties as citizens in the spirit and letter of the Constitution, could escape the penalty of the “higher-law” doctrines, and be permitted to develop the national resources untrammeled with sectional strife and unstained with federal infidelity. You are convened as patriots, who can rise above party trammels, and whose “higher law” can render unto Cesar the things that are Cesar’s; who can perform your whole duty to your fellow-citizens of other States, under a sacred compact, irrespective of the effect on abstract opinions of the government of colored persons or of territories, your philanthropy being always limited by your duty, and your generosity, by justice. It is not now the time to discuss the institutions of the South or their rights in the territories, nor to inveigh against the teachings and practices of those whose bad faith and aggressive spirit have produced that degree of exasperation among our Southern brethren, entitling their precipitancy, even, to much allowance, when we consider their wrongs. All this has been done on our part without effect, and the South, hopeless of its rights under the confederacy, proposes to save its institutions out of it. We have met to ask them, in a fraternal spirit, to pause and consider their duties to that part of their Northern brethren whose sympathies have always been with Southern rights and against Northern aggression; to co-operate with us in bringing back to its pristine integrity our common heritage—the Constitution—and rebuke and effectually put down the fell spirit which threatens to divide us. Already our industrial and commercial enterprises are paralyzed, and we are threatened with bankruptcy among the rich and starvation among the poor. Our public securities and private engagements are looked on with distrust, while the political organization of the States and of the nation are in daily peril of dissolution. We propose to send a committee to the South, to lay our views before their statesmen, and to

express our sympathy for their wrongs, and to assure them of our continued co-operation and hopes of success in speedily procuring for them that equality which abstract justice, as well as the Constitution, guarantees to them and their institutions. We wish to assure them not only of our own fidelity to the Constitution, and of our fraternal feelings to all parts of our common country, but to inspire them with hope that the evils of abolition have culminated, and that a returning sense of justice will mark the future legislation of the nullifying States of the North. It is proposed to send a committee whose social position, integrity and able political experience will do credit to their constituency and impress our Southern brethren with the earnestness of our co-operation and the soundness of the leading and representative men of New York herein assembled. I again repeat that the Committee of Invitation feel that they have accomplished much good in bringing together so illustrious a body of men to consider the grave questions before them, and to initiate the first movement, on the part of the Empire State, to prevent, if possible, a rupture in our national affairs. And it is with pleasure we have to propose a gentleman to preside over your deliberations, whose national reputation and patriotic sentiments commend him to every lover of our country, and fit him peculiarly to preside over a body of national men in the present national emergency. I propose, therefore, as Chairman of this meeting, the Hon. CHARLES O'CONOR. (Applause.)

The following gentlemen were appointed Secretaries : JAMES F. COX, WILLIAM B. CLERKE, and OLIVER G. CARTER.

Mr. O'CONOR, on taking the chair, spoke as follows :

I sincerely regret that it was not your pleasure to select some other gentleman as chairman of this meeting. In these times, it is more important that we should exhibit to the public mind accessions to our ranks—to that class of our people who have given no cause for excitement, and who have done nothing to sunder the ties of affection by which the people of these United States were once held together. I should rather, much rather, that this meeting could be presided over by some gentleman, remarkable, if you please, for not having hitherto manifested much interest in this question, or remarkable, like Senator DIXON of Connecticut, who a day or two since, stepping forth from the ranks of the so-called republican party, and placing himself before this country as a true hearted American, devoted to conciliation, to harmony, to holding us together, to perpetuating our interests and our Union, proclaimed in the Senate of the United States the doctrine of peace, and

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made a manly effort in his high place—who, separating himself, as I say, from those who were at least suspected, and with whom he had been associated, made an effort worthy of the occasion and likely to be beneficial in its influence. (Applause.) I have no other objection to appear here, save that my appearance does not indicate the presence of a new champion for Union, a new vindicator of concord, a new foe to causes of irritation and dissension, but is a mere indication—permit me to say it—that those who have been always faithful are faithful still. (Applause.)

From these personal remarks I pass to a brief consideration of the question that has brought us together. Gentlemen, in a position of entire seclusion from political interests and public affairs, I have had occasion, not for a week, a month, or a single year, but for a number of years, to study with attention the grave question now presented to us by the action of political parties: and I have seen, as I conceive, during a period of some years' duration, a tendency in political action that, in my judgment, necessarily led, as an unavoidable consequence, to a dissolution of this Union. Political parties should never be divided upon moral questions, as they are called. In the phrase "moral" I include the whole circle of religious opinion. And political parties can never be beneficially formed in a free State, founded upon the odium and detestation in which one party is required to hold the life, walk, conversation, and morals, or the religious opinions of another. (Applause.) It hence follows that when politicians seeking for some issue upon which to divide the community, selected as their point, as their banner, "Odium against Negro Slavery," they selected an issue which necessarily led sooner or later to a dissolution of the Union. It was—and no truer phrase could have been uttered; I find no fault with the expression—it was necessarily an "irrepressible conflict," in which one party or the other must be absolutely subdued, so that it could no longer sustain, in any degree, the contest with the other. I do not think it was an "irrepressible conflict" in any of the senses in which the term has been used, or in the way in which it was understood by those who uttered it; but it was necessarily an irrepressible conflict. I cannot imagine it to be possible that two distinct nations—and each of these States is, for certain political purposes, and for all the purposes of this question, a distinct nation—that two distinct nations can live together in one civil government, each entertaining an utter detestation of the life and morals of the other. And permit me to say in this connection that when I speak of nations I am to be understood as referring to the effective political majority. The effective political majority of a State in this Union speak the voice of the State.

They are the nation; the minority are a nullity; they have no voice or power. It hence follows that when an utter detestation of the life and morals of the people of Carolina has become the basis of a political party in New York, and that political party acquire an ascendancy in the political affairs of the government, these two States cannot live together, except in the relation of oppressor and oppressed. (Applause.) The more powerful will trample on the weaker. It may trample on the weaker according to some written constitution, so that there will be no direct violation of its letter. It may trample upon it in a way justifiable by some course of argument as conformable to law, but it will trample upon the weaker after all. A political Union of distinct organized communities thus opposed in moral sentiment, can only be upheld by force. In such an Union, there can be no relation between the hater and the detested, except the relation of oppressor and oppressed. (Applause.) It is vain to say, "We will give you equal laws." It is vain to say, "Congress can pass no laws to injure the Southern States." It is not by legislation that the oppression will be effected. It is by the unseen but potent influence of the executive department. That influence guides the action of the government and must lead to oppression of the Southern people if it is permitted to pass into the hands of those who hate them for the love of God. (Applause.) Therefore, gentlemen, whilst I deplore secession as much as any man who breathes, whilst I deplore secession as fraught with the greatest evils, I have looked upon it as an inevitable event whenever those who detest the life and conversation of the Southern people acquire political control over the central government at Washington. (Applause.) Not as a thing that must happen on the instant, but which must pretty soon follow. It is the natural, the necessary, the inevitable consequence; and although I may dislike particular individuals at the South, and believe that they are influenced by evil motives, and take advantage of the present state of things for the purpose of advancing private ends and aims, I cannot find fault with the South as a unit. I look upon the South as a unit, and upon the North as a unit. I do not take account of the men at the South who are influenced by bad motives. I do not take account of the men at the North who are influenced by bad motives. I look upon the South as an unit, that is the effective majority which represents the feelings and interests of the South, and I look upon the North as it is represented by that effective majority which speaks the voice of the North. And, looking at them in this way, I see that if the South cannot otherwise protect itself against the aggressive spirit of the North, there is an imperious necessity, for this act of secession. (Applause—A voice, "not at all.")

Is the secession to come? Desponding men seem to fear it. Some bad men undoubtedly desire it. The South is full, I am sure, of men who are anxious to prevent it. I am sure that there are numerous well known secession leaders who lead for the purpose of leading aright, intending, if they can, that the multitude who follow through the wilderness of doubt and dismay, may at least be led back into the promised land of Union and fraternity. (Applause.) I deem utterly unworthy the observation that the South has offended. As a unit it has not offended. (Loud applause.) As a unit it has only struggled to sustain itself against the rapidly accumulating majority of those who held its vital interests in such odium, that the destruction of those interests was a necessary consequence of their accession to power. Therefore, I say that there is no fault in the South, as a whole, and it has nothing to atone for. (Applause.) Let us look, then, to the North: and I ask, what are we to say of ourselves? I am myself a native of the North. My ancestors came from a country ten degrees nearer the pole than the country in which I live. I am a child of the North in every sense. I have scarcely a friend, I have no correspondents, and I have no interests, political or otherwise, in the South; and God gave me a physical constitution that would not permit me to live two degrees further South than the State in which I am placed. So I can have no personal interests, can be suspected of no personal interests, or ought not at least in common justice to be suspected of personal views, when I say that the South, speaking of it as a unit, as one portion of this country, has not offended, and has only struggled to keep its head above the rapidly advancing waters of this black sea which has so long threatened to overwhelm it. (Applause.) So much as to the South. Now, as to the North: Gentlemen, do I stand here to revile it? Not at all. All my pride, all my affections, all my interests are here. My birth was in the North, and my grave shall be in the North. Let no man suspect me of infidelity to the North, or of going, cap in hand, seeking for favor of any description from the South. I demand nothing, and we demand nothing from it. But let me say, as to the North, that I have no fear of the dishonest Northern politicians. There are dishonest politicians everywhere. I have no fear of those who are denominated the leaders at the North. There is no source of evil whatever in the North, except the honest, conscientious mistake of the honest, conscientious people of the North, who have drunk in this dreadful error that it is their duty, before God and man, to crush out and to trample upon the system of industry upon which the prosperity of the South and the permanency of this Union in its present form depend. (Applause.) There are no

enemies to this Union whose action is to be feared, except the honest, virtuous, conscientious people of the North. Let us draw away that support from the designing political factionists, and upon the instant this disturbing, mischievous controversy ends, our Union renews its youth, and appears before us as an institution designed to perpetuity and to bless untold millions for untold ages. (Applause.)

Now, gentlemen, where is our hope? Why, it is in having a little space of time to look about us here at the North—in having a little time to correct our errors and to withdraw political power from those who would use it destructively. There is no other means; there is no other remedy. The question is this: Can we obtain a little time? Can we induce the South to believe in our continued fidelity, to believe in the practicability of accomplishing our hopes, that harmony may thus be restored, and such a state of things created, by means of proper guarantees, as will render the South safe within the Union? That is the question. Undoubtedly a voice coming from the city of New York will be recognized as the voice of a friend, for here there was not only an effective majority, but a mighty majority in favor of doing entire justice to the South, and of keeping out of power this dangerous party, whose first advent to power—the very name of its advent to power—has shaken our republic to its foundations. Can we obtain a little time? I understand the proposition is that this city shall appeal to the South for time; induce the South, if possible, to stay its hand, and be patient for a time. This, certainly, I think we ought to do. There are a great many safeguards for public liberty in our Constitution. There are a great many safeguards for the rights of oppressed States and endangered interests in our constitution, and a resort to some one of these, if our people and our representatives in Congress would earnestly unite, might give to our friends at the South assurances that political power cannot and will not be wielded, even by the Executive, or through executive patronage, to their destruction.

And, gentlemen, can we afford them guarantees? I think we can. (Applause.) In the first place, we have nothing to fear, in my judgment, except from honest men, as I have said before, who have been misled and deceived—who have been misled and deceived, in a very great degree, not by politicians, but by persons in other walks of life—by moral lecturers and by ministers of the Gospel, who have entertained—very excusably, I am willing to say—mistaken views upon this subject, taken up, perhaps, under the influence of excitement, from very improper conduct occasionally manifested on the part of Southern men in and out of Congress. There are signs of improvement in this quarter.

In the still recent canvass between Fremont and Buchanan, when this identical question was before the people, it was said in the newspapers, I doubt not with substantial truth, that three thousand pulpits were pouring out their thunders against slavery, and calling upon the people, in the name of the God whom they worshiped, to give their utmost efforts to the accomplishment of the object then in view—the election of an anti-slavery Executive. Gentlemen, you will not certainly have failed to observe that during the canvass which we have just passed through, the pulpit was almost silent upon the subject. The persons who spoke from the pulpit were so few in number that they have attained a most unenviable notoriety, and will probably be remembered for a century at least for the distinctive position in which they placed themselves, whilst the pulpit generally was, as it should generally be upon such subjects, silent. Now, that was a great improvement. It showed that a disposition to reconsider the subject had entered the minds of good men at the North. It showed that those who were excited by improper acts, by acts of violence, and violent speeches, to a feeling of hostility to the South, had begun to consider their duty—had begun the study of the volume from which they were bound to take their doctrines, and had begun to learn that it was by no means so clear that every slaveholder should be punished in this world and be necessarily consigned to perdition in the next. I say the pulpit was silent. And the pulpit has now improved upon that silence. I trust a million have already read, and millions more will read, throughout the North, the sermon of the Rev. Mr. Van Dyke (applause), delivered on Sunday last, where, most wisely—from the attitude in which he stood, in all respects most justly and unexceptionably ignoring all mere worldly philosophy, ignoring all domination of men or parties, in Church, in State, in politics or elsewhere, and placing himself upon that which is the single guide to faith and doctrine in the judgment and fixed opinions of that great sect which he represents—the dominant sect throughout all the North—placing himself upon the Holy Scriptures of Almighty God, he showed that the people of the South, if they but performed their duties in their stations as well as we at the North in ours, lead lives as virtuous and conformable to the precepts of Almighty God, and of earthly morality, as the best men at the North. (Applause.)

First, then, gentlemen, we have shown what? We have shown that an influential body which once made itself active to a dangerous end (I grant from pure motives), first paused, and then changed its tone on full consideration. And I ask you, is there not hope that we shall live to learn throughout these Northern States that our duty is to correct our own personal vices, to reform our own minds and our own morals—to be our-

selves good and kind Christians, loving and affectionate fellow-citizens ? And if we needs must take cognizance of the faults and errors of other nations, and send the firebrand of incendiary documents where we can find no missionary daring enough to go, let us select the heathen in far-distant lands, and not undertake to denounce as heathens and sinners our own estimable fellow-citizens. (Applause.) This circumstance presents grounds for hope. It shows that there is a tendency in the Northern mind to correct itself, to reconsider its judgment, and to act more kindly and more charitably towards the people of the South.

Well, gentlemen, there is a power at Washington that can save the people of the South, if it can but firmly unite and resolve to protect the South. I mean in the Senate of the United States, where the South has a strong voice, and where many from the North are ready to sustain and support her. And as to the more distant future, as it respects guaranties and final protection to the South, why let us, in God's name, if no other remedy can be had, sit down in a national convention and add one section to our constitution. I would not alter one word of it. (Applause.) I am against altering the constitutions, either of the Union or of the States, that were adopted in times that tried men's souls—in times when the fathers of this republic, under the guidance of Almighty Providence, were laying the foundations of the first great free State that ever existed. (Applause.) I believe that Divine Wisdom presided over those events and the judgments that were formed in framing fundamental laws at the close of that contest. I believe that every step wherein we have departed from the fundamental laws of that day was a mistake, and that if there be any errors existing at this time in our practice, political or otherwise, the efficient cure for them is to go back to the platform upon which the fathers stood (loud applause),—to return to the glorious rules and principles framed for their posterity by those who founded the republic. Therefore, gentlemen, I would not have a new constitution, and obliterate that great instrument, sanctioned by the name of George Washington. (Applause.) I would not say to the present generation or to posterity that we could improve it by altering one single word or provision of it. (Applause.) I would, however, be willing to add—for we have commentators on the most sacred things—I would be willing to add a provision for the purpose of removing disputes, by way of carrying out and more completely and exactly executing the things that are in it. We are told by the highest authority—by that which we, I trust, we all revere—the Supreme Court of the United States—that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States were made by and for the free white Caucas-

sian race inhabiting these United States. (Applause.) And I would add a provision to the constitution embracing—for the purpose of convincing those who otherwise will not see—that principle; and that would guarantee complete protection to the people of the South. (Applause.) I will not say precisely in what form it should be added. I will not say it, not because I have not duly and fully reflected on it, and am not prepared to say it, but because it may as well be left for greater men than I to have the honor of putting it in form, and suggesting the way in which it should be adopted. Now, gentlemen, there is no inhumanity, there is no selfishness, there is nothing that men can find fault with in laying down the rule that America was made for a free white Caucasian race and its development. We but follow the judgment of Almighty God when we say, "America for the white Caucasian, Africa for the negro who was born it, who is adapted to its climate, and there, in a physical sense, at least, can best flourish." (Applause.) Why, if we establish the principle that this is a free white republic, and not a home for the free black man, and if the black man has in his nature and constitution a capacity of being elevated to power, and of being civilized and Christianized, what a mighty empire of free, enlightened, independent, powerful men you will have in Africa within a century or two! If they are fit for freedom, if they can enjoy and sustain self-government, that is the way in which benevolence, which turns away from the white man and aims at elevating the black man, can have its full gratification. If the black men of the South are one day to attain their liberty, it will be when hundreds of millions of enlightened, Christian, civilized black men, in the full enjoyment liberty, shall people the plains and hills of Africa—when that continent shall have its civilization, its commerce, its armies and its navies—then, indeed, the Southern States of this Union would be obliged to sustain an unequal conflict, or deliver up to the freedom of his native region every black slave within their borders. And thus, if indeed, as these fanatics seem to think, it be within the scheme of Almighty Providence, to elevate the black race, that race will be elevated by its own instrumentality, and in a climate most congenial to its constitution, mental and physical.

Gentlemen, I have already kept you too long. This, to be sure, is a great subject, and I always feel, when I speak upon it, that I must either say altogether too little, or weary the patience of those who may be obliged through courtesy to listen. I have done. We have met to reassure our Southern friends. We have met to present to them, in the strongest form in our power, the assurance of our continued action in their favor, and to concert such measures as may lead to staying the progress of their justifiable discontent. I insist upon calling it so.

(Applause.) To stay the affirmative, final action of that justifiable discontent until we shall have had an opportunity to change the existing state of things, and relieve the South from the present position of affairs. The party which believes it a duty to suppress and crush out slavery, may be held out from the possession of political power over the central government, we may not be able to control that party in particular States, but within a very short period I sincerely believe we shall be able, to hurl that party from power at Washington, and by united action we may prevent it from working mischief in the interval. (Loud applause.)

Hon. JOHN A. DIX then arose and addressed the Chair, as follows:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The object of this meeting has been stated. It is to see whether some measures may not be devised to arrest hasty and inconsiderate action in the South until we can consult together for a redress of their grievances. It has been proposed that a committee should be appointed to repair to the South to expostulate with leading men there in regard to this question. It is not supposed that the action of South Carolina can be influenced at all, but it is believed that the action of the other States may. You have stated, Mr. Chairman, that there is a body of conservative men at the South who may be reached. We hope by a strong fraternal appeal, avoiding as far as possible all the questions which are calculated to produce irritation, to reach that conservative body of men. I therefore move that a committee be appointed by the Chair to present an address and resolutions, if it be thought proper, and such other recommendations as may be suited to the present crisis.

The motion was agreed to, and the Chair appointed the following gentlemen to constitute that committee:

JOHN A. DIX,	WILSON G. HUNT,
GEORGE E. BALDWIN,	GUSTAVUS W. SMITH,
GERARD HALLOCK,	JOHN M. BARBOUR,
EDWIN CROSWELL,	THOMAS W. CLARKE,
STEPHEN P. RUSSELL,	JAMES T. SOUTTER,
JAMES W. BEEKMAN,	SAMUEL J. TILDEN,
WATTS SHERMAN,	BENJAMIN NOTT,
JOHN H. BROWER,	JOHN L. O'SULLIVAN,
ELIAS S. HIGGINS,	JOHN McKEON,
ALGERNON S. JARVIS,	Wm. H. ASPINWALL,
ROYAL PHELPS,	CHARLES A. DAVIS,
THOMAS W. LUDLOW,	STEWART BROWN.

Hon. JOHN McKEON then rose and addressed the Chair, as follows:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I know not how far it is proposed for this Committee to go. From the remarks made by yourself and by the gentleman who last spoke, I suppose that the address is intended for the South. I will speak frankly. I have been in Washington several times within the last three or four weeks. I was satisfied before the election that if it resulted in the choice of Mr. Lincoln, this Union was at an end. You may have observed that I took no part in the political campaign. I believed that if I made that declaration publicly, it would be supposed that I had political objects to promote, and I communicated that intelligence to my friends. I am now satisfied that the Union is at an end. (Cries of "no, no," from all parts of the house.) Let gentlemen hear me. (A voice, "Hear the other side too.") My countrymen may believe me, when I state my conviction. I hope that I may be wrong. I conversed with a Southern gentleman in Washington, and I appealed to him not to stir out of the Union in consequence of the election of Mr. Lincoln. Said I, "He has been elected under the Constitution; why not submit and allow us to correct the public opinion of the North?" The answer was, "Our reason for leaving is *because* Mr. Lincoln has been elected *under* the Constitution. Look to the past. For the last twenty-five years, you have been taught to believe that we at the South were engaged in criminal conduct. Your presses and your pulpits have denounced us as criminals and felons. You have declared that slavery shall go no further. That declaration has at last taken the form allowed by the Constitution. We are a conquered people. It is not possible for us to live in partnership when such denunciation is poured upon us."

Mr. Chairman, the work to be done is to be done here in the North. (Applause.) There is no salvation for us unless a blow is struck in the North. (Applause.) You, Mr. Chairman, have adverted to one symptom of change that has been exhibited in the pulpit. The next symptom that I would point to is the recent election in Boston. (Applause.) Another is the recent speech of the Senator from Connecticut, to which allusion has been made. Sir, the words spoken by that man thrilled through my heart as I listened to them in the Senate of the United States. His speech is not half as well reported as it was delivered. I shall never forget it. I am astonished at the incredulity of the North. People today do not believe that we are in danger. Let me make a prophecy. Within the next thirty days I believe that South Carolina will be out of the Union, and by the 4th of March the cotton States will follow. (Voices, "No, no.") But no force will be used towards the South. (Applause.) The first offensive blow will be the commencement of civil

war. (Applause.) We must look at facts as they are. There is no cowardice either on the part of the North or the South. We must not talk to one another about cowardice. We must believe that the people of the South are in earnest, and that they act from conscientious motives as well as the people of North. Men have taken advantage of prejudices and have thus brought us into this danger. It is as if we were embarked on board of some magnificent steamer with the richest cargo that ever floated on the sea, going down under a cloudless sky and without a ripple on the surface, and no one can tell why. (Applause.) Now I believe the result will be, that the Cotton States will go off, leaving the intermediate Slave States as a frontier, and will await the action of the North. They will not all be precipitate, they will wait for us to act. We may as well face the danger at once. And how shall we begin? With our legislatures. (A voice, "Good.") We must get our legislatures to act, and to influence our Senators and members of Congress. We must get the State Legislature to repeal every obnoxious statute. (Applause.) It is undoubtedly true that the personal liberty laws are unconstitutional, but they are on the statute book and that is enough to create trouble. They must be blotted out. But there is another thing that must be done. How is it now with regard to the rights of Southern people to pass through our Territories with their slaves? We do not admit it as a right, but we do when they ask it as a favor. Now, I insist that it is a constitutional right that they should be allowed to bring their slaves with them to the North. (Applause.)

Then comes the question of the Territories. Gentlemen, I am surprised and astonished to find how many people of the South are in favor of running a compromise line to the Pacific. I am one of those who believe that the Territories that have been fought for and paid for by all sections of the country, should be open to all sections. (Applause.) That position does not seem to be maintained by a majority of the people of the North. But on the other hand, a large number of Southern men are coming to this conclusion. If we cannot have this property in common, let us run a line through it, and you may take all North of it, and we will take all South of it. It is a great concession on their part.

The next question will be whether there can be such a thing as a claim for property in slaves. The Supreme Court has already decided that, as one portion of the country insists, but it is denied by another portion. The South never will come back until that principle is settled. I know it will be distasteful to the North. There are those who will not acknowledge the principle. But the question has got to be met. Unless the

claim is admitted the Cotton States will not come back. The result will be that all the frontier Slave States will join the Cotton States, and you will have a Southern Confederacy beginning at Maryland and running down to the uttermost border of the Southern line. That Confederacy will be bound together by a common interest. How are the Northern States to be bound? A frightful future—a night of darkness is coming upon us! But we may as well anticipate the danger and thereby, if possible, avoid it. The Eastern, Northern and Western States—have they not all a diversity of interest? What interest has the city of New York except a free, open port to the whole world? (Applause.) I speak of interest simply. The Western States are interested in agriculture, the Eastern States in manufactures, in fisheries, in ship-building and commerce. The manufactories, the fisheries, the shipping interests, are now protected by this government. You see, then, the diversity of interest in the Northern States as between themselves. While the South will be united by a common interest, producing great results for them, the North will be distracted and scattered to the winds of Heaven. Are the people of the North prepared for this contingency? (Voices, "No, no.") Have we not seen enough already to make us pause and consider the result? We see public stocks running down, the price of produce depreciated, manufactories stopped, and we have the dismal prospect before us this winter, of thousands thrown out of employment. And all this for what? What has caused it? It is all for an abstraction, so far as the North are concerned. All on account of a race with whom we are not encumbered or troubled in any way. (Applause.) Is it not offensive to the South for the North thus to be interfering with Southern affairs? It has been truly stated, by our Chairman, that when we get into moral discussions in polities, there is an end of all peace. Men cannot discuss those questions in peace. They are matters of feeling. But we have to call the people back and change this state of things. How shall we do it? (A voice—"Put New England out"—laughter.) No; since the recent election in Boston, and the speech of the Senator from Connecticut, we will let New England stay. (Laughter.) And I believe, when the people of New England come to see the consequences of this breaking up of the Union, they will be the first to rally in defence of the constitutional rights of every portion of this country.

My friends, we must bring to bear upon our State legislature a public opinion that will induce them to repeal every law that interferes with the rights of the South. Then, we must make some compromise in regard to the Territories. I beg pardon for speaking so long. I have

been so oppressed with the alarming state of things, that I thought it was my duty frankly to state my fears and to communicate to you such information as I had. I believe we are just opening a great scene, the end of which no man can tell. I therefore appeal to every man to forbear. I believe the mass of the republican party, which has the control of the destinies of the country, mean to do right if they can see the right. Upon them rests the responsibility. We have a minor part to perform. Our duty is to tell them what we really believe and let them act as they deem best. I do not believe that the great State of New York, which is indeed a concentration of the whole power of the Union, which owes its position to the Union, will be false to its recollections of the past, and that she will not plunge into the yawning abyss, where she will be forever doomed to infamy, dishonor and (I fear) endless tyranny. (Loud applause.)

Hon. DANIEL S. DICKINSON addressed the meeting as follows:

I am here, Mr. President, without intending to take part in this meeting, and because invited here; for although I have little faith in anything that can be done at this moment, I would not stay away from a meeting called as this has been, and looking to such great and beneficial objects. I would not stay away if I had the least hope that anything could be accomplished. I have nothing new to say upon this subject, Mr. Chairman, more than what I have said before through a long course of years. I have seen the seed planted—I have seen the ground cultivated which received the seed—I have seen the sprouts shoot up in rank luxurious growth and overshadowed the whole land, and it has finally produced its crop of terrible poisonous fruit. But let all who would know my sentiments, read the record of a somewhat extended public life. We are upon perilous times, and it becomes a duty of every patriot—every individual who loves his country—to put forth every energy within his power, for the purpose of averting, not only the danger that threatens, but the danger that is upon us. In other days, I had the honor to be associated with that somewhat eccentric, but pure and elevated patriot—Calhoun, he has gone to his rest and his reward, and Henry Clay, who looked over this Union with a solicitude scarcely less anxious than that the Saviour of men bestowed upon Jerusalem—he is not here now to take part in the affairs of the day; and if this Union is to be dissolved, as I religiously believe it is, heaven in mercy has granted the prayer of the patriotic Webster, that when his eyes last beheld the sun in heaven, it might not shine upon the fragments of a dissevered Union. From New York, and from most of the Northern States, every individual who thought as I did in former times of peril, has retired to

private life, and their names supplied, and their seats have been filled by those of diametrically opposed opinions.

But more true joy Marcellus exiled feels
Than Cæsar, with the Senate at his heels.

This union of States did not repose at other times, and does not repose to-day, upon paper laws and paper constitutions. It was founded in mutual friendship and regard, and common interests; and when these fraternal feelings cease to exist, a mere paper constitution is but a delusive mockery. In 1840, the act which my friend who just preceded me spoke of, which was called, in common parlance, the nine months' law, was repealed. It permitted our Southern brethren who visited the State of New York to bring with them their servants, and remain nine months; and yet they were as fully protected as they were in the States from which they came. In 1840, sir, that act was repealed. I was then a member of the Senate of this State, and although never dreaming that I should be on the national boards of legislation—knowing little of this great question compared with what I know now, I resisted the repeal of that law, to the best of my ability, as long as I could by arguments—as long as I could by fair efforts, and finally, when driven to it, I resisted it factionally, and kept the majority waiting for nearly a whole night. I received the rewards of patriotic men for my exertions, on the one side, and my full basket of anonymous letters of abuse on the other. But I scorn to speak of my personal action. I believe that was the first source of trouble between the North and South, and I think the restoration of that bill will do more to restore good feeling and good will than almost any other cause that could be advocated. It is not an amendment of the Constitution that is wanted merely—the laws are well enough—the federal laws and Constitution are well enough, but it is their execution according to the spirit in which they were enacted, that is called for and demanded on the part of the South. They insist upon the great principle of the equality of the States, and they are entitled to it upon every consideration that can influence men, communities and States. The Constitution makes them equal—the law makes them equal—they are equal in the sight of honest men, and are equals in the sight of God; and woe be to him who undertakes to degrade and trample them down. (Applause.) The South see and feel the advancing population of the North, and that now in the national legislature they are in the minority. They see that in a few years there will be a majority of two-thirds against them, not only of States, but of representatives of both branches of the Legislature, and they well may fear that the sentiment of the

entire free States will sweep their institutions away. And hence it is that they take alarm—hence it is determined that they are now, while they have some power and some strength, unless they can have additional guarantees to protect and sustain them, to secede from the Union. They are forewarned and intend to be forearmed, and unless they can find safety, security, equality, repose in the Union, they intend to seek it outside, whatever fate may await them. I know there are those among us who say that the South do not intend to secede, they say this is an unnecessary alarm, they say they can be coerced and driven back in their position. All that is necessary is firmness. But the South have seen for years these little rivulets of opposition forming upon the hills and forcing down through the gorges until they form the black and bitter waters of one great sea of abolition, which threatens to overwhelm and engulf them. I have already remarked that this Union was a union of good feeling, a fraternal union, of equals, of good fellowship, and that he who supposes that these States can be continued as members of the confederacy by coercion—that they can be fought, defeated and subdued, into equal and faithful members of the confederacy—should go home to his domestic hearth and there breed jealousies, distrust and animosity between himself and the partner of his bosom—she who pledged herself to love, honor and obey him, who is the mother of his children, who has attended him through the vicissitudes of life, and the bereavements which have awaited him; and after he has created this disturbance let him then attempt to chastise her and make her love him. And when he has succeeded, let him attempt to chastise a State until it becomes a faithful member of the confederacy. All the paper laws we have—all the strength, force and power of the Constitution—the army and navy, the national legislature and the executive power of the government, are all not worth a single rush to compel a State to remain one hour in the confederacy longer than it chooses to remain. If the allegiance of a State can be secured to the federal Constitution, it must be because it believes that it is its duty to the sister States upon the great principles of equality, upon which the federal government rests. Will the children of a common father, who should sit down at the family table as equals, consent to be degraded by being driven to submission? Let those who believe that this evil can be averted, and that the Union can be preserved by force, attempt that method, but let good men, every patriot, set to work to correct the public sentiment of the North. The public sentiment of the South has been goaded and irritated until it has arrived, in a good degree, at a point of desperation. The South cares little about the mere election of Mr. Lincoln—they view it as the development of a

public sentiment, as a last and final evidence of the sentiment of the free States. They look at us as States—not as individual members of the community, as we look at them as States, not as individual members of society. They regard this as an evidence of public sentiment which has passed beyond their control, and they say now that there is no hope for them within the Union, and they will secede. What we must convince them of is, that we will not only repeal our obnoxious laws upon paper, but we will repeal the public sentiment that is more pernicious than all the obnoxious laws of New England and all the free States together. (Applause.) It is a sentiment that has been infused by political demagogues who have gone through the land executing a commission of evil; and if Satan himself had been permitted to come upon earth to scourge mankind, he could not more successfully have accomplished his mission than by going through the country and preaching demagogueism and sectionalism on the subject of slavery (applause,) and whether he did it as a political demagogue or a ministerial one I care very little. (Applause.) I call none such ministers of the gospel. I call them ministers of depravity and vitiated polities. Our Southern brothers will reason with us as we reason with them. No amount of finished and eloquent addresses will serve us in this emergency—no finely turned periods in speech—no resolutions however patriotic and well pointed and considered will answer the occasion. No commission of individuals, however elevated, patriotic, and pure of record, will be of the least avail, unless the Southern people are satisfied that they represent the public sentiment. When the conscientious belief of the South can rest on the sincerity of our resolutions, addresses and speeches, as representing the public mind of the North, and not until then, will come concord and unity. I have little faith in anything, except that which goes towards creating a pure, patriotic, elevated public sentiment. I have little faith in a meeting in this great commercial City, or in anything that it can do further than is an evidence of a public sentiment. The South are sure of the fidelity of the City of New York. (Applause.) It has been true at all times, it has never swerved with its great and mighty patriotic majority. But the South have seen that the vote of the country is overwhelming, and renders the City of New York powerless; so far as it is an evidence of the public sentiment of the State and City, it will have its influence. But we must go further, and must repeal the obnoxious laws on our statute book, and the repeal must carry evidence that it is not for any mere temporary purpose—that it is not because our pecuniary interests have been touched, but it must be in evidence that it is a returning public sense, and those who would not see have been made to feel, and that returning

sense and reason are real and permanent. The free States must be brought up to the consideration of a great public duty. The South have not offended us. We cannot say that they have ever laid finger upon us. They have not invaded our domain. They have not interfered with any interests belonging to us as sovereign states. But they read in our newspapers that their slaves have been run off by an underground railroad, and they see it set down in derision that one more Southern individual has been robbed of his property—one more slave—instead of having been returned according to the compact of the Constitution, has been run off into the province of Canada. They have determined to bear these things no longer, and it becomes Northern people to determine whether they will permit this state of things to go on, or whether they will make one last grand effort to see whether this sentiment can be corrected. You cannot send forth a stream by any natural process that will rise higher than a fountain. The South know it. They have no faith in addresses and resolutions that have not their sources in the feelings of the masses of the people. It is useless to say there is no serious trouble. I believe that South Carolina will secede so far as the movement of her Convention can do it, on the 17th or 18th of this month, and events must transpire shortly after which will bring all cotton States in association with her, and eventually every State which is a slave State, and intends to continue such, will go along together. This is as certain as the laws of gravity, and he is a blind man and mad man who cannot see it. All that we can now do is to get time to convince the Southern people that there is a returning sentiment of truth and justice in the Northern States; that the honest masses have been misled and have misunderstood this irritating question, as I believe they have, and upon proper consideration will go back to their duty as members of this confederacy, and will welcome back our Southern brethren to the great family of political, social and moral equals. (Applause.) Our constitutional federal laws, I repeat, are well enough. Our obnoxious State laws should be repealed, and in their place a public sentiment should be set up and borne aloft, as the great law-giver of olden times set up the brazen serpent, that every one who had been bitten by abolitionism will look on it and be healed. (Great applause.) I will close as I begun. I did not intend to take part in this meeting. I have no particular views but what I have often repeated, and my hope is that by this respectable meeting a public sentiment may be drawn out. If it be as just, conservative and beneficial as we believe it to be, we may then properly so represent it to our Southern brethren, and no longer be misunderstood. Look the danger fully and squarely in the face. We must

not put too much trust in meetings, in Congress or in legislation; but if we would remain a united people we must say that however wrong we may have been, however much error we may have committed, we have reconsidered our conduct, and are satisfied that we must treat the Southern States as we treated them on the inauguration of the government—as political equals. When we have done that we shall have done our whole duty, and perhaps this glorious government may still go forward to the fruition that awaits it. (Loud applause.)

HIRAM KETCHUM, Esq., then addressed the meeting as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN: The present is not a time for crimination or recrimination. I think one of the worst evils of the times is the disposition to censure, to denounce, to criminate and recriminate. We are in the midst of a common danger; what shall we do to rescue ourselves from it? I concur in the remarks of the Chairman of this meeting upon the Constitution of our country. I confess that I never was so much struck with admiration of that Constitution as when I learned that while a President of the United States had been elected by a party with which I had no fellowship, the same people that elected him had elected a Congress which could put manacles upon him. (Applause.) We should not talk as though all was gone, because a President has been chosen contrary to our wishes. We have still a legislature and a judiciary that are opposed to him. Why should we despair? And I am most thoroughly persuaded, as was said by a very distinguished statesman from Tennessee, that the majority in the ensuing Congress will be increased.

We have been told to look to the North. We will—we do. If it be true, as has been stated by the Chairman of this meeting, that the majority of the people of the North are cultivating a feeling of hate towards the South, then there can be no Union. But the fact is not proved that there is such a majority. What have we done at the recent election? We have given more than three hundred thousand votes. And is there a gentleman here who believes that we cannot reverse the majority that is given against us? Is there a gentleman here who believes that the republican party will have the ascendancy for any length of time in this State? I do not. There are three hundred thousand voters in the State of New York who stand by the Constitution of our country. We have seen a party rising that we believe would undermine that Constitution, and we mean to put that party down, if that is really their object. But our friends of the South ought to consider that we must have time, and I have no doubt that we will yet give them those rights that they claim under the Constitution. (Applause.) To say that the political majority

against us is going to continue, is to contradict all the history of the past—all the history of popular governments. The party opposed to the Republicans came into the contest under circumstances of great disadvantage. They were broken into fragments. Give us time to organize and combine, and we will put down any party that should attempt to do what the South fear the republican party will do. (Applause.) To our fellow-citizens, then, at the South, we say, we do not want you to place us in a false position. We have given 300,000 votes for the Union and the Constitution, and we want you to stand by us in the Union. We can right this wrong in the Union—only we require time. Give us time, and we will show you that it is not true that the majority of the people of the North hate your institutions. (Applause.) The idea that a party or a section is to give up country, Constitution and Union, because they have been beaten in one or two canvasses—why, it is not American (applause)—it is against the spirit of republican liberty.

I agree that there has been a vast deal of fanaticism at the North. We will cure the bite by a hair from the same dog. (Laughter.) But there is yet intellect in the North and sound theology. We have more than one Van Dyke—aye, more than a thousand. (Applause.) I will pick out men even in fanatical New England that will reason correctly upon these questions. Prof. Stuart, of Andover, took hold of that matter in 1850, and he was never answered. We can find more of the same sort. We can show that slavery is not a sin in itself—and that is the real difficulty. (Applause.) We do not ask the learning or logic of the South to establish that proposition. The religious intellect of the North has taken hold of that question and will settle it right.

On more than one occasion I have endeavored to demonstrate that the success of the republican party would be a great national calamity. But we have been outvoted. What then? I say again, the people can be brought back—not in a day, but in a year, I believe. But, gracious God, what can we do if the Union is broken up! I appeal, then, to our fellow-citizens in the South to stand by us for the Constitution and for the Union. (Applause.)

Some years ago a dinner was given to that great statesman, Daniel Webster, in Philadelphia, at which I had the honor to be present and to have a seat at his side. In the course of conversation, I made this remark to him : Said I, "Mr. Webster, did it ever occur to you that when the great charter of liberty in England was violated, it was remedied by being brought up and renewed?" I saw him take a note, and presently, when he came to make a speech, he said, "My fellow-citizens, the Constitution, no doubt, has been violated, but what shall we do? Shall we

desert it? I would as soon desert my father. Let us bring it up and renew it. What did the barons of England do when their Magna Charter was violated? They renewed it. They brought it forward and re-established it until it was fixed in the minds of the British people. That we must do." That remark brought down the house more than anything else contained in the speech. Now, it is true that the spirit of the Constitution has been violated, but instead of breaking up this government, let us bring the Constitution before the people, and when it is fully understood, the South will have full redress under it. (Applause.)

The idea of breaking up the Union ought not to be entertained. Let us beseech our fellow-citizens of the South to consider the interests of the country, its past history, its illustrious founders, and see if we cannot harmonize and keep together. And when we have tried and found that we cannot, it will then be time enough to think of separating. I do not know whether South Carolina is to be prayed for, but I can appeal to the people of Georgia and other cotton States. If they have any friends in this Union, it is in the City of New York and the City of Brooklyn. We are neither a Northern nor a Southern city. Here is a field where all may mingle. We are not only a municipality, but a national, cosmopolitan city. The whole world is represented here. We love the Union and mean to preserve it. Be assured we shall be found in the right place.

And be assured of one thing more—that if ever a conflict arises between races, the people of the City of New York will stand by their brethren, the white race. (Applause.) We will never suffer you to be trampled upon by those of another blood. I believe the late election in this State has shown that upon the question of race the people are right. (Applause.) So then, if you feel yourselves in danger, I believe I can speak for the people of this State—that they will stand by you to the last. (Loud applause.)

At the conclusion of Mr. KETCHUM's remarks, the Committee, who had been out in consultation during the delivery of the foregoing speeches, came in and reported through their chairman, Gen. DIX, the following address and resolutions, which, after consideration, were adopted unanimously :

A D D R E S S .

FELLOW-CITIZENS AND BRETHREN OF THE SOUTH:

It has become our painful duty to address ourselves to you under the most alarming circumstances in which we have been placed since the formation of the government. In the fulness of our prosperity, our strength, and our credit, the Union, to which we owe it all, is in imminent danger of becoming a prey to internal dissension, sacrificing the great interests of the country, and forfeiting the high position it holds among the nations of the earth. To avert a calamity so disgraceful to us as a free people, so disastrous to the common welfare, and so disheartening to the friends of representative government in both hemispheres, we appeal to you by the sacred memory of that fraternal friendship which bound our forefathers together through the perils of the Revolution, which has united us all through succeeding years of alternate good and ill, and which has conducted us, under the protection of the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, to wealth and power by a progress unexampled in the history of the past—by all the endearing recollections with which this association is hallowed, we conjure you to pause before the current of disunion shall acquire a force which may prove irresistible, that we may consult together, with the calmness due to the magnitude of the crisis, for the removal of the causes which have produced it. We make this appeal to you in entire confidence that it will not be repulsed. We have stood by you in the political contest through which we have just passed. We have asserted your rights as earnestly as though they had been our own. You cannot refuse, therefore, to listen to us, and to weigh with becoming deliberation the reasons we have for believing that the wrongs, which have led to the existing alienation between the two great sections of the country, may, with your co-operation, be speedily redressed. We do not intend to go back to the origin of these wrongs. We will not review the dark history of the aggression and insult visited upon you by abolitionists and their abettors during the last thirty-five years. Our detestation of these acts of hostility is not inferior to your own. We take things as they exist, to deal with them as an evil, not to be eradicated by violence, but to be remedied by a treatment which shall at the same time be considerate and firm. We call on you as friends to delay action until we can induce those, through whose agency the evil has been brought upon us, to listen to the voices of reason and duty, and to place your relations and ours to the common privileges and

benefits of the Union on a footing of perfect equality; or, failing in this, until we can bring the majority of our fellow-citizens in the North to co-operate with us, as we do not doubt they will, in the proper measures of redress. We do not despair of securing from those, to whose hands the reins of government are about to be entrusted, a recognition of your rights in regard to the surrender of fugitive slaves and equality in the territories. We know that great changes of opinion have already taken place among their most intelligent and influential men—that a reaction has commenced, which is not likely to be stayed—that errors and prejudices which in the heat of the canvass were inaccessible to reason and persuasion, have been, on cool reflection, renounced; nay, more, that many, whose opinions have undergone no change, are willing, in a praiseworthy spirit of patriotism, to make on questions, which are not fundamental in our system of government, but merely accessory to our social condition, the concessions necessary to preserve the Union in its integrity, and to save us from the fatal alternative of dismemberment into two or more empires, jealous of each other, and embittered by the remembrance of differences, which we had not the justice or the magnanimity to compose.

Let us enumerate briefly the grounds on which we repose our trust in a speedy accommodation of the existing disagreement between the North and the South.

I. The late election. Although it was adverse to us throughout the North, we have in the detail added materially to our strength in Congress, where the power to redress wrong and prevent abuse is most needed. In this State, against five democratic and union members of the present Congress, eleven members have been elected for the next; and in the other Northern States five members more have been gained, making a change of twenty-two votes in the House of Representatives, giving a decided majority in that body to the friends of the Union and the equal rights of the South, rendering all hostile legislation impossible, and affording assurance that existing wrong will be redressed.

In regard to the general result of the election, we do not hesitate to say, that the conservative men of the North have been defeated by their own divisions rather than by the votes of their opponents, and that it is not a true criterion of the relative strength of parties. The slavery question was but an element in the contest; it would have proved utterly inadequate to the result had not the democratic party been disorganized by its own dissensions. Even in the City of New-York, with an overwhelming majority, one of the most conservative Congress districts was lost by running two candidates against a single republican.

In the Congress districts carried by the anti republicans, the canvass was placed distinctly on the ground of sustaining the equal rights of the States in the territories. In the month of May last an address was published in the City of New York, reviewing the controversy between the two great sections of the country in regard to the territorial question, and assuming as a basis of settlement the following grounds :

1. A citizen of any State in the Union may emigrate to the territories with his property, whether it consists of slaves or any other subject of personal ownership.
2. So long as the territorial condition exists, the relation of master and slave is not to be disturbed by federal or local legislation.
3. Whenever a territory shall be entitled to admission into the Union as a State, the inhabitants may, in framing their constitution, decide for themselves whether it shall authorize or exclude slavery.

We stand on these grounds now. We believe the controversy can be adjusted on no other. Many who sustained in the late canvass a candidate, who did not assent to them, disagreed with him in opinion. We speak particularly of the city of New York ; and we say with confidence that we believe the great conservative party of the North may be rallied successfully on the foregoing propositions as a basis of adjustment. In carrying them out we shall re-establish the practice of the government from its organization to the year 1820, running through the successive administrations of Washington, the elder Adams, Jefferson and Madison. The territory Northwest of the Ohio River, in which slavery was prohibited by an ordinance adopted under the articles of confederation, was an exceptional case. In the other territories emigrants from the States were freely admitted with slaves when composing a part of their families. The adoption of the Missouri Compromise under the administration of Mr. Monroe, was the first departure from the practice of the government under the Constitution. We must go back to the policy of the founders of the Republic if we hope to preserve the Union. We believe this great object can be accomplished, and that harmony may be restored to the country if time for action be given to those who have its destinies in their hands.

II. The republican party. It cannot possibly remain unbroken during the term of the incoming administration. The two chief elements—the political and religious—can never harmonize in practice. The process of separation has already commenced. While those who ostensibly represent the religious element are as fierce as ever in their denunciations, leading politicians, no doubt in view of the responsibility to devolve on the President elect in carrying on the government, have renounced ultra

opinions, and proclaimed the duty of enforcing an efficient fugitive slave law. In Boston the Union party triumphed by a majority of several thousand votes in the late municipal election, and the abolitionists have been expelled by the people from the public halls, in which they attempted to hold their disorganizing assemblies. In other cities of New England the same reaction has taken place. The theorists and the politicians can never hold together when measures of government are to be agreed on; and it is not believed that the republican party can sustain itself for a single year on the basis of the principles on which it was organized.

It is a mistake to imagine that the whole republican party, or even the great bulk of it, is really at heart, animated by any spirit hostile to the rights or menacing to the interests of the South. Anti-slaveryism has constituted but one of various political elements combined in that "republicanism" which has elected Mr. Lincoln. We pledge ourselves to you, that whenever a fair opportunity shall be presented of a distinct and simple vote of the North upon the full recognition of all your constitutional rights, a very large majority in nearly every Northern State will be found true to the Constitution and true to the fraternal relations established by it between you and us.

III. The fugitive slave law. Eight or nine States have passed laws calculated, if not designed, to embarrass the surrender of fugitive slaves. Wrong as these enactments are in principle and in purpose, they have been practically nugatory. We believe no fugitive from service or labor has been discharged under any one of them. They are, nevertheless, utterly indefensible as the index of unfriendly feeling; they have wrought, in practice, the further injury of furnishing an example of infidelity to Constitutional obligations—an injury to us as well as to you; and no one doubts that they will, when brought before the judicial tribunals of the country, be pronounced violations or evasions of a duty enjoined by the Constitution, and therefore void.

A movement has already been made in Vermont (the most hopeless of the republican States) to repeal her personal liberty bill, and the question, as we understand, is yet undecided in the hands of a committee. Massachusetts, it is believed, will repeal hers at the approaching session of her legislature. Nor is it doubted that Mr. Lincoln, who has publicly declared that the fugitive slave law must be faithfully executed, will exert his influence to procure the abrogation of all conflicting enactments by the States. That it is the duty of the States to repeal them, without waiting for the Courts to pronounce them invalid, no man, who justly appreciates the existing danger, will deny.

IV. The conservative men of the North. Since the adoption of the compromise measures of 1850, we have firmly maintained your rights under them. Previous differences of opinion were cheerfully renounced. The contest with the ultraism of the republican party, active and strong as it is, has not been unaccompanied by personal sacrifices on our part. They have been encountered unhesitatingly, and without regard to political consequences to ourselves. We felt that we had a stake in the issue not less important than you. Believing the Union essential to the prosperity and the honor of the country; holding that its dissolution would not only overwhelm us with calamity and disgrace, but that it would give a fatal shock to the cause of free government throughout the world, we have sought by all practicable means to maintain it by carrying out with scrupulous fidelity the compromises of the Constitution. Though beaten at the late election, it is our sincere belief that we are stronger on this question now than we have been at any previous time. We believe we are nearer a solution satisfactory to you than we ever have been. We regard it as certain to be accomplished, unless it is defeated by precipitate action on your part.

These are a few of the grounds on which we rely for an adjustment of existing differences. There are others which we deem it needless at this juncture to press on you. But we should leave the view we take of the question unfinished, if we were not to add, that any violation of your constitutional rights by the incoming administration, if it were attempted, would meet with as prompt and as determined a resistance here as it would from yourselves. We desire it to be distinctly understood that we speak with full knowledge of the import of our words; and that we pledge ourselves to such a resistance by all the means which may be necessary to make it effective. But we are satisfied no such danger is to be feared. It cannot, in the nature of things, be an ultra administration. No party in power, under our system of government, can fail to be conservative, no matter on what declarations the canvass may have been conducted by its leading supporters. There is an under current of moderation in the flow of popular opinion, which will inevitably withhold those, to whom the great interests of the country are only temporarily confided, from running rashly into extremes.

Let us, then, fellow-citizens and brethren, again appeal to you to abstain from any movement which shall have for its object a dissolution of the political bonds, which have so long, and so happily for us all, united us to each other. They have given us honor, wealth and power. If occasional differences have disturbed the general harmony, they have been speedily adjusted with fresh accessions of benefit to the common

welfare. No nation has had so uninterrupted a career of prosperity. To what are we to attribute it but to the well adjusted organization of our political system to its several parts? We do not call on you to aid us in upholding it on these considerations alone. There are others of a more personal nature—not addressing themselves to you as communities of men merely, but as individuals like ourselves, bound to us by ties of reciprocal obligation, which we call on you in all candor to respect. We should not make this appeal to you on an occasion of less magnitude. But when the very foundations of society are in danger of being broken up, involving the peace of families, the interests of communities, and the lasting welfare and reputation of the whole confederacy of States, no feeling of delicacy should dissuade us from speaking freely and without concealment. We call on you, then, as brethren and friends, to stand by us as we have stood by you.

During the angry contentions of the last nine years, we have been the open and unshrinking vindicators of your rights. It is in fighting with you the battle for the Constitution that we have by an unfortunate combination of causes been overthrown—not finally and hopelessly (far from it)—but temporarily only, and with a remaining strength, which needs only to be concentrated to give us the victory in future conflicts. Is it magnanimous—nay, is it just—to abandon us when we are as eager as ever to renew the contest, on grounds essentially your own, and leave us to carry it on in utter hopelessness for want of your co-operation and aid? We cannot doubt the response you will give to this appeal. You cannot fail to see that by hastily separating yourselves from us, you will deprive us of the co-operation needed to contend successfully against the ultraism which surrounds us, and may leave us without power in a political organization embued, by the very act of separation, with a rancorous spirit of hostility to you. We conjure you then to unite with us to prevent the question of disunion from being precipitated by rash counsels and in a manner altogether unworthy of our rank among the great nations of the earth, and of the destinies which await us if we are only true to ourselves.

If the event shall prove that we have overstated our own ability to procure a redress of existing wrongs, or the disposition of others to concede what is due to you, as members of a confederacy, which can only be preserved by equal justice to all; let us, when all the efforts of patriotism shall have proved unavailing, when the painful truth shall have forced itself on the conviction that our common brotherhood can be no longer maintained in the mutual confidence, in which its whole value consists—in a word, when reconciliation shall become hopeless, and it

shall be manifest (which, may God forbid!) that our future paths must lie wide apart; let us do all that becomes reasonable men, to break the force of so great a calamity, by parting in peace. Let us remember that we have public obligations at home and abroad, which for our good name must not be dishonored—that we have great interests within and without—on the ocean, in our cities and towns, in our widely extended internal improvements, in our fields and at our firesides—which must not be inconsiderately and wantonly sacrificed. If undervaluing the great boon of our prosperity, we can no longer consent to enjoy it in common, let us divide what we possess on the one hand, and what we owe on the other, and save the Republic—the noblest the world has seen—from the horrors of civil war and the degradation of financial discredit.

If, on the other hand, (which may God grant!) you shall not turn a deaf ear to this appeal—if it shall be seen in the sequel that we have correctly appreciated the influences which are at work to bring about a reconciliation of existing differences, and a redress of existing wrongs; if mutual confidence shall be restored, and the current of our prosperity shall resume its course, to flow on, as it must, with no future dissensions to disturb it, and in perpetually increasing volume and force; it will be the most cheering consolation of our lives that in contributing to so happy an issue out of the prevailing gloom, we have neither misjudged your patriotism, nor the willingness of our common countrymen to do you justice.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States was designed to secure equal rights and privileges to the people of all the States, which were either parties to its formation or which have subsequently thereto become members of the Union; and whereas, the said instrument contained certain stipulations in regard to the surrender of fugitive slaves, under the designation of "persons held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another," which stipulations were designed to be complied with by the act of Congress making provision for such surrender: and whereas, the agitated state of the country, arising out of differences of opinion in regard to these provisions, demands that we should declare explicitly our sense of the obligations arising under them; therefore,

Resolved, That the delivery of fugitive slaves to their masters is an obligation enjoined by the Constitution, in which all good citizens are bound to acquiesce; and that all laws passed by the States with a view to embarrass and obstruct the execution of the act of Congress making provision therefor, are an infraction of that instrument and should be promptly repealed.

Resolved, That the territories of the United States are the common property of the people thereof; that they are of right, and ought to be, open to the free immigration of citizens of all the States, with their families, and with whatever is the subject of

personal ownership under the laws of the States from which they emigrated; that the relation of master and slave cannot, during the territorial condition, be rightfully disturbed by federal or local legislation; and that the people of any such territory can only dispose of the question of slavery in connection with their own political organization, when they form a constitution with a view to their admission into the Union as a State.

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to uphold these principles by all the means in our power; to seek by all practicable efforts a redress of the wrongs of which the Southern States justly complain, and to maintain their equality under the Constitution, in the full enjoyment of all the rights and privileges it confers.

Resolved, That while we deplore the existing excitement in the Southern States, we do not hesitate to say that there is just ground for it. But we earnestly entreat our Southern brethren to abstain from hasty and inconsiderate action, that time may be afforded for bringing about a reconciliation of existing differences, and that the Union of the States—the source of our prosperity and power—may be preserved and perpetuated by a restoration of public harmony and mutual confidence.

Resolved, That HON. MILLARD FILLMORE, HON. GREENE C. BRONSON and RICHARD LATHROP, Esq., be appointed a committee to proceed to the South, with a view to make such explanation to our Southern brethren, in regard to the subjects embraced in the Address and Resolutions, as they may deem necessary, and to give such further instructions as may be needed to manifest our determination to maintain their rights.

Resolved, That, in case either of the gentlemen named in the foregoing resolution be unable to perform the service for which he is appointed, the Committee on the Address and Resolutions be authorized to fill the vacancy.

The following amendment was offered to the third resolution by HON. KIRKLAND, but was rejected: strike out all after the word "emigrated" and insert—

"And that the question of the rights of the people in the territories of the United States ~~is~~ and ought to be left to the judgment of the Supreme Court, in whose decision, at the law of the land, all good citizens are bound to acquiesce."

The following amendment was also proposed ~~by Mr. G.~~, but was rejected.

This imminent difference of opinion exist in regard to the sufficient guaranty of these ~~equal~~ rights by the extension of the provisions of the Constitution, all doubt in regard thereto ought to be authoritatively and forever set at rest by an explanatory amendment to the Constitution."

On motion it was resolved that the Address and Resolutions in addition to being published in the daily newspapers, be printed in pamphlet form.

Also, that a manuscript copy thereof be prepared and presented to the authorities of South Carolina, with the signatures attached.

Mr. E. COOPER moved that the resolution to call a public meeting at

an early day be referred to the Committee on Address and Resolutions, with power to take such action in relation thereto, and to any other matters pertinent to the proceedings of this meeting, as they may deem expedient.

The resolution was adopted, and the meeting adjourned.

The following letters were read :

FROM WASHINGTON HUNT.

LOCKPORT, Dec. 12, 1860.

I have just received your dispatch inviting me to be in New York on Saturday. I need not express to you the deep pain and anxiety with which I have observed the deplorable state of our public affairs. At times it has appeared to me that nothing less than Divine power can save our Union from destruction. Alas! that a nation so blessed by Heaven should be rent and distracted and broken into warring fragments by the madness of human passions. But we must not look on with silent apathy and despair. The question constantly forces itself upon my mind, What is to be done? Can we do anything to avert the great calamity which impends our country? We must look the danger in the face, and nerve ourselves for the manly discharge of our duty, come what may. What can be done? It is now evident that we have reached a crisis which will compel the two sections to come together and agree on a new and friendly understanding, or else they must separate and form new nationalities. They must consent to some final settlement of the whole slave controversy, remove the subject from federal politics, cease cursing on both sides, and form a genuine Union, or else disunion is inevitable, with the long train of woes and calamities which is sure to follow. Now, can the North and South be brought to a friendly understanding? Extreme men in both sections, animated by powerful passions, will stand in the way of any just compromise. But patriots who love their whole country must not desert their post. We must remain faithful to the last. We are bound to make new and determined efforts so long as there is a ray of hope to cheer us in the holy work. After much reflection, it seems to me that the only solution of our present difficulties must be found in a National Convention—called in the constitutional mode—and that our first endeavor should be to secure it by an appeal to Congress and to the lovers of the Union, North and South. In a body thus constituted, I cannot but believe a large majority would finally concur in presenting a basis of Union which would be ratified by the States and the people. In whatever is done at this time, it is very desirable to have the co-operation of the more moderate republicans, who are ready to sacrifice their party to save the country. There are some such, and I trust their number will increase daily. It may be advisable to call a State convention, in the first instance, to give expression to the national feeling of New York, and its continued desire to preserve and cherish the Union of the States. Should such a convention be called, I will endeavor to be there. I write this in haste, and will only add, that in whatever measures you may adopt to rescue our country from ruin, you may rely on my sincere and cordial support.

WASHINGTON HUNT.

FROM FRANCIS L. HAWKS.

The following was sent to Mr. Brooks:

NEW YORK, Dec. 15, 1860.

ERASTUS BROOKS, Esq.:

MY DEAR SIR: Will you have the goodness to explain to the gentlemen who may assemble at the office of MR. LATHERS, to-day, that events beyond my control will not permit me to be present in person, though I concur with them heart and soul in all their patriotic desires and efforts. I am sorry to add that private letters which have just reached me from four of the Southern States satisfy me that disunion is inevitable.

Yours, very truly,

FRANCIS L. HAWKS.

FROM HON. AMASA J. PARKER.

ALBANY, Dec. 13, 1860.

I regret that I cannot meet with you on the 15th instant. Consultation should no longer be delayed as to the measures to be adopted by the conservative men of New York in the present emergency. An address from a committee to the people of the South has been suggested; one in the vein of General Dix's letter ought certainly to produce an effect. But, instead of that, or in addition to it, I think a delegation should be sent from this State to Georgia, to be present at the Convention about to be held there, to address the convention and to mingle with its individual members. As to South Carolina, nothing can probably be done with any promise of success. But perhaps the epidemic may be stayed in its progress westward. If Georgia can be saved, the States lying West of her are in much less danger. Even if delaying only can be obtained, a reaction in public opinion at the South may be hoped for in time to prevent a separation. I think the chivalrous feeling of the South will revolt at the idea of abandoning us of the North in our effort to recover the national administration four years hence, in view of the fact that we have placed ourselves in helpless minorities at the North, in struggling to secure the just rights of the South.

AMASA J. PARKER.

Letters were also received from Hon. H. GOURDIN, of Charleston, S. C.; Judge A. C. PAIGE, of Schenectady, N. Y.; WOOSTER SHERMAN, of Watertown; THOMAS A. DWYER, of Williamsburgh; N. C. PAINE, of Rochester; JOHN A. GREENE, of Syracuse, and GEO. W. CLINTON, of Buffalo.

At the close of the proceedings incipient measures were taken for calling a public meeting in this city.

Mr. E. COOPER moved that the resolution to call a public meeting at an early day be referred to the Committee on Address and Resolution, with power to take such action in relation thereto, and to any other matters pertinent to the proceedings of this meeting, as they may deem expedient.

In accordance with the above resolution, the following gentlemen were appointed as the Committee on Address and Resolutions :

JOHN A. DIX,	WILSON G. HUNT,
GEORGE E. BALDWIN,	GUSTAVUS W. SMITH,
GERARD HALLOCK,	JOHN M. BARBOUR,
EDWIN CROSWELL,	THOMAS W. CLERKE,
STEPHEN P. RUSSELL,	JAMES T. SOUTTER,
JAMES W. BEEKMAN,	SAMUEL J. TILDEN,
WATTS SHERMAN,	BENJAMIN NOTT,
JOHN H. BROWER,	JOHN L. O'SULLIVAN,
ELIAS S. HIGGINS,	JOHN McKEON,
ALGERNON S. JARVIS,	WM. H. ASPINWALL,
ROYAL PHELPS,	CHARLES A. DAVIS,
THOMAS W. LUDLOW,	STEWART BROWN,
CHARLES O'CONOR,	JAMES T. BRADY,
EDWARD COOPER.	EDWARDS PIERREPONT,
JOHN KELLY,	RICHARD LATHERS.

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